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616 Čera Phratry:
614 Bādejaba (Chief) clan
O Čera (Čera of the Ibis) clan
Ki (Tapir) clan
Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge (Big-Armadillo-Red-Arara-Gilthead) clan
Bakoro clan
Bóro (Pendant of the lower lip) clan

Beside these clan divisions properly so called one finds a certain number of distinctions of different character (Note I, p. 37).

361 The morphological structure of the village directly indicates
621 the social organization. The houses are distributed around a big
345 circle, the approximate center of which is occupied by the men's house (baite-mannanage°); the latter is built on a north-south axis.
621 A line west-southwest and east-northeast, very oblique in relation
616 to this axis, divides the village into two practically equal halves:
614 the southeastern part comprises the Tugare houses; the northwestern part is formed by the Čera houses. The diameter of the circle having been set a little too short for the number of houses, one house belonging to the Ki clan has been pushed slightly behind the alignment (Pl. VIII, A /see p. 46/) in the foreground the O Čera čębegeʷõ hut partly hiding a Ki hut. In the background, from left to right, the Ki kujagoreð, Bokodori čębegeʷõ, and Bokodori-Kõge baiaddadaʷ huts). Numerous native sources state that in the past this situation was normal and that the village was composed of several concentric circles, the houses belonging to the same clan being located approximately one behind the other.

621 The layout of the village thus expresses the social structure.
616 But it also expresses its geographical position. A second axis, very
614 oblique in relation to the preceding one and perpendicular to the
823 course of the river, in turn divides the village into two halves, the Čãbõgeʷõge, i.e., "the upstream ones," and the Čębegeʷõge, or "downstream ones." Each of these halves evidently includes houses belonging to both phratries. And the spatial distribution of the clans in the interior of each hemicycle causes three of them to

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621 616 614 823 be found also divided into two groups according to their position in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/

Ewâguddudõge čẹbegeʷõge: those of the downstream Buriti
Ewâguddudõge čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Buriti
Āróre čẹbegeʷõge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Āróre čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čẹbegeʷõge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O, Bādejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 592 [823] [345] The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddadaʷge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6 /). It should be noted that the door of the men's house which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47/).

[345] [591]

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokẹjeʷõge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokẹje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bādejeba bo'pokẹjeʷo (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewâguddudõge bo'pokẹjeʷõge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewâguddudõge kurigeʊ, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

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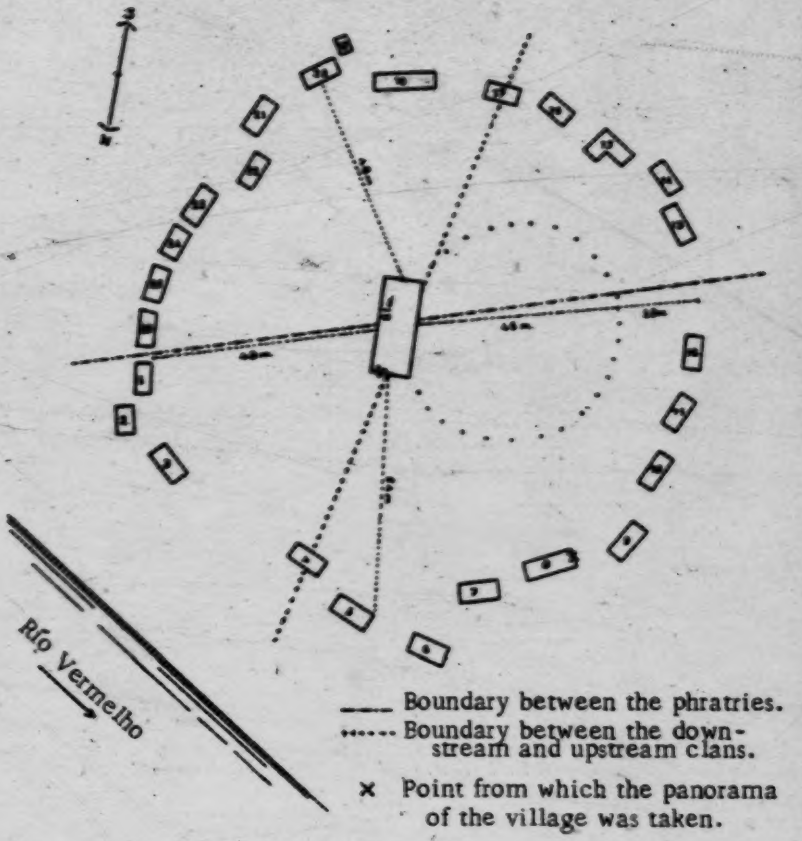
Río Vermelho
Boundary between the phratries.
Boundary between the down-stream and upstream clans.
Point from which the panorama of the village was taken.

Fig. 15.—Plan of Kejara aldeia. Above the boundary between the phratries: the Tugare; below it, the Ẍera. The Ẍãbõge$^{\omega}$õge are on the left (upstream) and the Ẍẹbege$^{\omega}$õge on the right (downstream) of the axis which separates them; in the middle, the Baiaddade$^{\pi}$ge.

614 each clan is divided into two subclans, and the terms used
823 for the subclans are not the same in each case. Some subclans are termed chobugiwu (upstream), some chebegiwu (downstream). And, at the same time, some of them are called choreu (black), or kujagureu (red). One lineage (Koge Enogwa Tabowu) belongs to both the red and black subclans, and four subclans are designated by special terms. These inconsistencies in the designation of subclans reproduce the way in which the Bororo talk about their subclans.

614 The relationship between the subclans within a clan is
829 regarded as being that between older and younger brothers. One of the subclans is called Etumanamage (Older Brothers); the alternative names for Older Brothers are Choreu (Black) and Kurireu (Big). The other subclan is called Etuviyemage (Younger Brothers), with Kujagureu (Red) or Kugurireu (Small) being alternative names for Younger Brothers.

614 This division does not correspond to the division of
823 the two subclans in chobugiwuge (upstream) and chebegiwuge
829 (downstream), which is solely related to the position of each subclan toward the flow of the river. The choreuge can be downstream and the kujagureuge upstream, as among the Kiye, Paiwoe, Apiborege, and Ivagududoge; but their position can be the reverse, as among the Aroroe. Being downstream or upstream in itself does not say anything about the importance of the subclan. Besides, the terms chobugiwuge and chebegiwuge can be used to indicate the relative position of units in other contexts. Within each subclan one

lineage can be upstream in relation to another lineage, which in its turn, is upstream in relation to a third one. The clans within a moiety are upstream or downstream in relation to each other. Finally, the whole village could be divided into two halves, the upstream and the downstream, though this division is not a functional one.[1]

The term boyadadawuge (those in the middle) is applied similarly. It can indicate a lineage situated between two other lineages or a clan situated between two other clans, or it can indicate village leaders whose place on the village plaza is central, while less important people sit around them. In literature about the Bororo this term has often been used to designate a third subdivision of the clan. We have already briefly explained the usage of this term in connection with the status of the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu within the Ivagududoge clan (see page 120). Some lineages which do not own any ornaments, songs, or ceremonies of their own, and which are geographically situated between two subclans, may if they wish use prerogatives that belong to either one of their neighbors, the Blacks or the Reds. When mentioned--and these lineages are rarely mentioned because they are not important--they are included either among the Blacks or among the Reds. But if in doubt, the Bororo will call them boyadadawu.

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1 A few informants would object to this statement. They say that the souls of the dead people inhabit one or the other of the lands of the spirits, depending on their position in the upper or lower part of the village while alive.

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kioqwagiri-
[237] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujagureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kugurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the wa-
[773] ters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

beaches or long stretches of shore covered by grass and cane belong to the older brothers, while their short counterparts belong to the younger."[1]

Finally, we also find this opposition in the two most important Bororo musical instruments: *ika* and *pana*. *Ika*, a long wooden trumpet, is the musical instrument of Bakororo. The musical instrument of Itubore is *pana*, a big double calabash opened on two sides, which is blown mostly for rhythm. Usually, when *ika* plays, the women are not supposed to be present; there is no similar restriction for *pana*. *Ika* is always played alone or two *ika* play alternately in a kind of dialog; *pana* always accompanies songs. (This arrangement correlates with Bororo singing: men can sing alone or accompanied by women; but if women sing with men, women do not pronounce the words of the songs but just give tonal background to the melody.) The shape of the instruments is also significant. *Ika* is elongated and narrow, often with one end in the shape of a snake's head, which would corroborate its interpretation as a phallic symbol (the use of the snake as a phallic symbol is recurrent in the Bororo myths and stories). *Pana* is made of two or more calabashes joined together, and in describing some woman the Bororo often compare her with *pana*; both of them have *pea jaka*—the curves of a narrow waist. *Ika* is also the name for two

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[1] Echerae etuviyemage eno kugaru jipa, kiworo jipa, tugoriwo jipa koborire. Etumanamage eno raire.